

old days, I am not sure senior citizens want a return to the good old days. I think they are happier with Medicare, and with a Social Security check coming in on a monthly basis. Remember: The Social Security checks they get are not welfare. That is money that is paid into a fund by employers and employees.

So I suggest that we have experienced a lot of good since the creation of some of these programs, and since they were initially debated. By most measures, the United States in 1995 is a dramatically better place to live than it was in 1965 if you are a senior citizen.

Of course, we have to do something about the crime that ravages senior citizens—violent crime, crimes involving telemarketing, and other things like that. We have to do a better job there. But as far as economic safety, security, 1995 for senior citizens is much better than 1965. The economy is more than twice as large in terms of real dollar. Poverty has declined in the senior population despite a larger population.

There are other good things that have happened. Twenty-five years ago the Cuyahoga River caught fire. A river in Ohio started burning. It was then determined that maybe we should do something about cleaning up our rivers and streams. The Clean Water Act was passed 25 years ago. What do we have now? We have greatly improved water. At the time the Cuyahoga River caught fire about 80 percent of the rivers and streams in this country were polluted. Now those figures have almost reversed. We do not have 80 percent of our rivers and streams polluted now. We have a little over 20 percent. We have made dramatic strides in clean water.

Clean air—even though we have millions of more cars on the road today than we had 25 years ago, because of the Clean Air Act our air is cleaner than it was 25 years ago. Scientific advances have allowed us to do that. Most people are healthier, living longer, and most jobs are less dangerous. Most discrimination has ended, especially formal discrimination. Education levels are at an all-time high even though our education system needs a lot more work done on it. I acknowledge that. But, Mr. President, out of the 141 top universities in the world, the United States has 129 out of 141. Our higher education is not touched by any other country. We need a lot of work with our elementary and secondary schools. Of course, we do. That is why we need to be putting more money in instead of less.

Personal freedom has been improved in modern-day America more than it was in the past. In fact, personal freedom has never been greater than it is today. Once reserved for the very rich, air travel have become commonplace.

I believe we are overlooking the reasons why the final decision of balancing the budget has to be thought

out and thought out well. There are programs and laws that improve lives, and they are worthy of defending as a matter of principle. It is not just about policy and numbers. It is about people. That is what this debate is about. The decisions we reach in the next few days, the next few weeks, and the next few months will have lasting consequence on all of us.

I close by referring to a Republican who said, "Spending on government programs, from Medicare and education, to home heating oil assistance, is to be reduced in ways that is principally a burden to the poor and the middle class—"talking about the bill the President vetoed"—while simultaneously taxes are to be cut in ways that predominantly benefit the top one or two percent of Americans."

So I say to those within the sound of my voice, the debate, Mr. President, is a debate on the difference between right and wrong. We feel we are on the right side of the issue and that we have to stand up for principle.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MACK. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO RETIRING SENATOR NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM

Mr. DODD. Madam President, expectations and reality are rarely one and the same. So when our colleague from the State of Kansas, Senator KASSEBAUM, says she never expected to be here in the U.S. Senate, it is not surprising that this is where she ended up. But very true to all expectations, Madam President, Senator KASSEBAUM has distinguished herself as one of this institution's best and brightest. So it is with reluctance that I rise to bid farewell to my dear friend and respected colleague.

Senator KASSEBAUM has graced the Halls of the U.S. Senate every single day of the almost 18 years she has spent here. Never partisan and always fair, her leadership of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources is exemplary, and it is a joy to serve with her on that body as well as on the Committee on Foreign Relations. Indeed, she has helped to keep the Senate's spirit of civility alive.

A leader, independent thinker, and mediator, Senator KASSEBAUM's record of accomplishment is lengthy and impressive. Aside from being the first female chair of a major committee in 40 years, she has managed to write a health insurance reform bill that has drawn Labor and Human Resources Committee consensus around this difficult and often controversial issue. She has been indispensable in reauthorizing the Ryan White Care Act, a program of great importance to the State of Connecticut, and has been a valuable supporter of the Head Start Program.

But Senator KASSEBAUM's accomplishments have improved the lives of those well beyond United States shores. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, she was invaluable in facilitating Central American peace initiatives and in finding political solutions to the conflict in El Salvador. And as chairwoman of the Subcommittee on African Affairs, she fought to bring an end to South African apartheid by supporting sanctions against that nation; she then facilitated their repeal upon the election of President Nelson Mandela.

And at home in Kansas, Madam President, Senator KASSEBAUM's constituents love her just as much as her Senate colleagues. Her overwhelming support at the polls—76 percent in 1984, and 74 percent in 1990—reflects Kansans' deep appreciation of her commitment to them. She has never wavered from the value her father instilled in her: that her roots were always in Kansas.

Madam President, both Senator KASSEBAUM and I are the children of public servants whose interest in politics and government service was nourished throughout our childhoods. To walk alongside Senator KASSEBAUM as both of us follow in our fathers' footsteps has fostered a special bond between us. We have served together on two committees, and have worked as trusted partners on many important issues. And I realize how fulfilling it must be for her, as she leaves this body, to know that she has made her father proud.

Senator KASSEBAUM is a noble servant of Kansans and all Americans, a cherished friend, and a beloved colleague whom I greatly admire. I will be sorry to see her leave the Senate, but I am confident that her spirit will endure. I wish her the very best as she approaches her retirement, and look forward to serving this last year with her.

TRIBUTE TO A MAN OF GREAT CONSCIENCE, RETIRING SENATOR MARK HATFIELD

Mr. DODD. Madam President, Senator HATFIELD's recent announcement that he would be leaving the U.S. Senate left me disappointed, for his departure from this body will mean the loss of yet another of the Senate's most honorable Members. For five terms,

Senator HATFIELD has elevated the caliber of this Chamber's debate, frequently taking lonely stands in the process.

Voting one's conscience often requires courage. Senator HATFIELD has never wavered in his devotion to what he believes is just, and he has always done right by the good people of Oregon.

Madam President, no one in this body has been a greater crusader for peace than MARK HATFIELD. A devout pacifist since the beginning of his political career, Senator HATFIELD opposed President Johnson's Vietnam policy, and more than 20 years later was one of only two Republicans to vote against United States military involvement in the Persian Gulf. He opposes nuclear testing and an extensive military buildup, and authored the 1992 nuclear test ban law that is now regarded as an important standard for U.S. conduct on nuclear issues.

More recently, Senator HATFIELD was the sole Republican to vote against the balanced budget amendment, and he would have paid dearly for that stand had the concept of respect for one's conscience not prevailed.

Senator HATFIELD's constituents respect his principles just as much as his colleagues, which is perhaps why Governor Kitzhaber said Senator HATFIELD has achieved "what may be the single greatest public career in Oregon's history." Senator HATFIELD has never lost an election. Oregonians have continually returned their Senator to office not only because of his righteousness, but also because of his commitment to them and their values. As chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator HATFIELD has seen to it that Oregon's pristine parks and clean coastlines have the means to stay that way, while other public projects such as hospitals, research centers, and roads help to ensure health of the State's citizens and the vibrancy of the State's economy. And as one of this body's true moderates, Senator HATFIELD has also supported gun control and motor-voter initiatives, while opposing President Reagan's unwise tax cuts.

Madam President, Senator HATFIELD is an outstanding Member of this body whose sincerity and strength of character should be emulated by all Americans. Widely respected for his independence and well-liked for his loyal friendship, Senator HATFIELD will be sorely missed. I wish him all the best in his retirement.

HONORING AN ESTEEMED COLLEAGUE

Mr. DODD. Madam President, amidst a very busy, occasionally frantic session, as we struggle for sometimes small, perhaps fleeting victories, it is important that we not ignore those losses that are permanent and personal. A close friend and a fine legislator announced last month that he will be leaving us at the end of this

Congress, and I would like to take this opportunity to pay him part of the tribute that he deserves.

Madam President, I know something about following in the footsteps of one's own father in this Chamber. The U.S. Congress held not only a set of expectations for Senator Simpson, but also a legacy. It was a legacy that came not just from former Senator Milward Simpson, but from a long lineage of Simpsons dating back to the 19th century. Senator SIMPSON's ancestors were among the pioneers of the State of Wyoming, and were part of the effort that turned a beautiful stretch of American frontier into a great American State. This spirit—one of perseverance, integrity, and hard work—was the legacy that was left to Senator SIMPSON. It was a legacy that he embraced and nurtured, while simultaneously carving for himself an identity and a presence in the Senate all his own.

It is easy to stand up here and honor a colleague by listing a litany of legislative achievements. It is much harder to try to pay tribute by attempting to evoke the humor and the wit that were the hallmark of Senator SIMPSON's career. I am afraid I am not up to the task, Madam President. But those who know the Senator remember the humor that he brought to a too often humorless place. Indeed, many of us were the victims of his good-natured joshing on numerous occasions. He was disarming with his charm, and his quick wit won him many small battles, while averting many larger ones. Suffice it to say, on the subject of Senator SIMPSON's humor, that many of us, before we came to Washington and encountered the acerbic tongue of the 6'7" Senator from Wyoming, had no idea what or where a gazoo was.

It must have been that pioneering spirit that made Senator SIMPSON gravitate toward some of the toughest legislative assignments in this body. He quickly took on one of our Nation's thorniest policy areas, immigration reform, and, through dogged perseverance, determination, and a keen sense of when and how to compromise, he pushed through the legislation that has become the foundation of our Nation's immigration policy ever since.

The bill that eventually passed was a tribute to our policymaking process here in Congress. It marked a strengthening of U.S. immigration policy, but also showed sensitivity to the serious concerns of some very thoughtful people. It tempered a toughening of border patrols with amnesty for illegal aliens who arrived in this country through the early 1980's. It balanced sanctions against employers who hired illegal aliens with provisions to protect legal aliens and citizens from unfair discrimination. It took him 6 years to do it, and I know that it was at times a frustrating march. It was an effort that other legislators might have given up, and left to another leader, or another time. But he persisted, and the bill

that was passed in 1986, after 6 years of hard work and compromise, stands as a heartening example of how a political system too often accused of gridlock and obstruction can succeed when the right leader tempers determination with cooperation.

He hardly slowed down from there, however, continuing to take on some of the most sensitive issues, impressing even his opponents with his honesty and courage. He spoke to a group of Vietnam veterans, and frankly told them of his reservations about compensation for veterans who claimed to have been injured due to their exposure to chemicals during the war. He simply had not seen adequate proof that their injuries were caused by their wartime experiences, he explained. The audience disagreed with him, but they respected his honesty and forthrightness in explaining his views. At the conclusion of his speech, he received a standing ovation.

In announcing his retirement, Senator SIMPSON said that, when he began his work in the Senate, he promised the voters two things, and two things only. First, that he would work very hard, and second, that he would try to make them very proud. Madam President, it takes honesty and courage to be so frank in what one promises, and it takes hard work and perseverance to make good on those promises. Senator SIMPSON exhibited all of those qualities, and he will be long remembered for them.

Senator SIMPSON also told us that he is leaving this Chamber because he no longer feels the same "fire in the belly." I am disappointed to hear that, but I have very little doubt that whatever he chooses to do upon leaving us, the fire in his belly will soon be rekindled, and the flames will fuel his passion, and we will all be touched by his energy. I thank him, and I wish him the best of luck.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 3:45 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 33. An act to transfer the Fish Farming Experimental Laboratory in Stuttgart,